6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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the voice of Julunggul.[2] At the same time, however, the Lu'ningu Snake plays an important part in purely male sacred life.

The whole problem of interpretation depends on the distribution of the Wauwalak ritual among the *djunggawon*, *kunapipi* and *ngu:rlmak*. For example, the first is a re-enactment of the swallowing of the Two Sisters by Julunggul, and the performance of totemic ceremonies relevant to the animals caught by the women for food. The second concerns the swallowing of the young men, the presence of Julunggul after the swallowing of the Wauwalak, and a number of dances relating to copulation and procreation, stressing the theme of fertility. The third and final ceremonial sequence deals principally with the *murlk* shade, and with other Snakes including the Julunggul. All these rituals to some extent overlap, and the whole myth may be enacted to create a framework for specific aspects.

In the *djunggawon* the Python is called Julunggul and swallows the Wauwalak. In the Kunapipi it is usually known as Moiit, and in addition to swallowing the young men, and disgorging and re-swallowing the Wauwalak, is said to have swallowed the Nga:ti; but this is not substantiated by relevant mythology, and appears to be a Rose River addition. In the *ngu:rlmak*, the same Snake is known as *uwar*. As Julunggul is the commonest sacred term for the Python, it has been retained throughout this work, although some alternatives have been used.

In the Kunapipi, male neophytes leaving the main camp for the sacred ground are said to be swallowed by Lu'ningu, just as he swallowed the young men in the Dreaming Era; and in the old days they had to stop away from womenfolk from a period of two weeks to two months, symbolizing their stay inside the belly of the Snake. When the period of ceremonies is finished they return as new men (for Lu'ningu vomited up the young men dead). In the *djunggawon* the sacred ritual is associated more with women, because of the Wauwalak, and the novices may be seen constantly: "for those Wauwalak were vomited quickly, and were soon alive".

It is the practice, in the Kunapipi, to send messengers in all directions, notifying various groups that a ceremony is to take place. Young male postulants are also sent with their guardians, and their going symbolizes "vomiting". That is, in leaving their home camp and going to another some distance away, they are being vomited through the air to the strange place by Lu'ningu (in other versions, by Julunggul). And when they eventually return, together with alien groups who are to attend the Kunapipi ceremony, they are swallowed again "just as the Wauwalak were", or like the young men in the

2. In regions where the Kunapipi is more or less indigenous, the sound of the bullroarer is the Fertility Mother's voice, and the object itself symbolizes her uterus. *Vide* Chapters IX–XI. In other areas, the bullroarer represents the penis, and its symbolism depends sometimes on its shape and sound.

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Dreaming Period. When they first leave their home camp they are painted with red-ochre and arm-blood, which represent the blood of the Wauwalak. That is, for the purpose of the ritual they become the Two Sisters, and are swallowed by Julunggul; and on their emergence from the ritual, they are revivified just as were the women. On their returning home, they are again smeared with red-ochre and arm blood before entering the sacred Kunapipi ground.

In all the rituals we find the main theme of the Wauwalak's adventure with Julunggul; but subsidiary Pythons are present, and tend to confuse this aspect of the doctrine. There are Lu'ningu, the Julunggul herself (either alone, or with her husband playing an active or inactive part), and the group of young snakes who watched the actual swallowing of the Wauwalak. Another python, an unmarried male, is associated with Gru:awona, where he still lives in his spirit form. He threw up a great amount of earth and formed a hill; then he dug up more earth, and formed another hill with a high bank at one side. Under this bank he lives, beside the deep pool; here the water is continually swirling, and its surface is the colour of the rainbow. Close by, at Muruwul, it is said, is a rainbow reaching up into the sky: that is Julunggul "twisting up" to catch the Wauwalak. It was here, at Muruwul, that man first "took part for that Snake" (see myth above); "for that Snake got to be Dreaming *mareiin* for us, because he swallowed the Wauwalak. Now we make that Wauwalak *murlk* on our sacred ground, in just the same way as it was first made at Muruwul. In it we place the long wooden *julunggul* 'trumpet', all painted and decorated in totemic designs, for the *djunggawon*, or the *uwar* log 'drum' for the *ngu:rlmak*. And instead of Julunggul swallowing the Wauwalak, it swallows the young boys we send out to the rituals".

In the Kunapipi the two long *jelmalandji* emblems are erected, but they cannot "talk"; "we have to make sound for them, so we twirl a bullroarer". This is called, in translation, the "shout side", because, informants explain, "those two *jelmalandji* couldn't speak, and we have to make own language for them". Orthodox versions stress that the *jelmalandji* are the two Snakes, the male and female Julunggul,[3] standing up looking about after having swallowed the Wauwalak and the child, and talking to other Pythons on the Wessels and elsewhere.

The *murlk* or hut, also called *bambu:la* (a very sacred term), is not used to any extent in the Kunapipi, but it is present in both the *djunggawon* and the *ngu:rlmak*. As well as being the hut in which the

3. In central-western Northern Territory these *jelmalandji* are said to represent both the Fertility Mother and the Rainbow Snake (a superimposition of the snake on the Mother); at Birrundudu, the *jelmalandji* had pearl-shell eyes, and other decorations. And in some versions (see later) one *jelmalandji* is the Snake, and the other the "cabbage" palm growing at Muruwul (the latter serves to symbolize the Julunggul).

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796 The ceremony begins when messengers are first sent out to the various camps to notify other groups, and when the chosen initiates [203] (young boys who have gone through the *djunggawon* age-grading [561] ceremony) are taken away from their home camp. But it may be some time before the more serious parts of the rituals can commence.

796 In the meantime, while awaiting the visitors, the *dua* headmen and 778 the Kunapipi leader go out from the main camp and make a ceremonial ground or "centre" (that is "Sandy" or "Sunday") place; this entails the clearing of a ground which the men are in the habit of [534] using for such a purpose. The Kunapipi leader makes a bullroarer, its cord attached to a stick by which it will be swung; its painting and [533] anointing with blood (as described above) are accompanied by singing.

796 Some time afterwards, the first Kunapipi ceremony takes place in the main camp, "to let the women know that it is beginning". Men 533 sing "outside" Wauwalak and "outside" Kunapipi songs which summarize preceding events, while the women dance. These are 535 called *gudambiri*, or ordinary secular dances; although they do not pretend to be really sacred, they are nevertheless most important, for they put everyone into the mood for the coming rituals. Non-sacred *garma* (or clan songs) are also sung and danced. These may continue for weeks before the main rituals commence: but towards the end, the men, women, and children sing the "outside" Kunapipi songs with their rapid rhythm.

796 Out in the bush on the sacred ground[4] a man swings the bull-[534] roarer. There is a hush; the deep-throated sound of Julunggul is heard by all in the camp. In answer, the Kunapipi leader calls, followed by the cries of all the women: "they cry out just like those two Wauwalak, for Julunggul is sneaking towards the camp, as he did towards the *murlk*". *Jiritja* men answer, too, symbolizing *jiritja* snakes.

796 Almost immediately after this, the *jiritja* men take out the young 881 boys to meet the Julunggul (that is, if they have not been sent away to other camps; if they have gone, this part of the ceremony takes place when they return, with the visitors who are to participate). [302] The boys have been smeared with red-ochre and arm blood and,

[778] 4. The sacred ground is in the shape of a triangle. This is similar to the *djunggawon* dancing ground, and is said to resemble Julunggul's body. One side of the elongated triangle is classified as *dua*, and the opposite side as *jiritja*; but this is only for ritual purposes. At the apex of the triangle a hole is dug, symbolizing Muruwul: this is the *nunggaru*. The "inside" meaning of this triangular dancing place is said to be the Mother's uterus: men go into the uterus for rituals. This conforms to the meaning of the ground in other regions, for example, in western-central Northern Territory. The Kunapipi ground is arranged differently from that of the *djunggawon*, but retains its fundamental shape.

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APPENDIX I

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794 In the main body of this work some mention has been made of
796 ceremonial copulation during the performance of the Kunapipi.
831 Our examples were taken principally from north-eastern and south-
ern Arnhem Land, with reference to the Roper River region; and
for comparison with these the following data from western Arnhem
Land are presented.

During our field work in the western Arnhem Land region, at the Goulburn Islands and Oenpelli, little reference was made to the Kunapipi ceremonies;[1] it was said that these were introduced by
[177] Reinbaranga people from the south and south-east, in the direction of the Roper River, or that they came from the Milingimbi area to the east.

Recently, however, the writer's chief informant at South Goulburn
[115] Island, a Maung man named Small Ngolaman (or Nangolominj), who is incidentally one of the very few literate aborigines on the north coast of the Northern Territory, and who has been "keeping track" of certain problems in the region during our absence, writes that the Kunapipi is known to some of the mainland men who visit Goulburn Island. The Kunapipi, as we are already aware, is carried out in the vicinity of Oenpelli, and in the upper Liverpool River area, under the auspices of Reinbaranga or Milingimbi leaders, and is known (but not practised) at Goulburn Island.

Small Ngolaman's preliminary statement[2] reveals some very interesting features: for example, the use of one girl on the sacred ground needs more accompanying data, since it bears a striking similarity to the more western type, as carried out by the old Laraki tribe; this will however be dealt with later. Ngolaman's informant
[115] was a Maung man, named Inmindjur.

"Messengers are sent out, notifying the various groups that the
● [203] Kunapipi is to be held. When the people come in to the ceremonial
794 camp, the rituals begin. The Kunapipi headman chooses a young
796 girl, and takes her away from the main camp to the sacred ground.
831 She is placed in a big bough shade or hut, recently built by the young initiated men; she lies there on her back. Two holes are dug, one on each side of her; a strong post is placed in each, and rammed

1. *Vide* R. and C. Berndt, *Sexual Behaviour in Western Arnhem Land*, Chapter IV, Section IX.
2. *Correspondence* to R. Berndt, October 4th, 1948.

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into flame long after a bush-fire has passed, are in all seriousness attributed to mischievous spirits. All fires thus have some meaning, and though their significance may be wrongly interpreted, they do play an important part in elementary signalling. 202 372 [775]

A family brought the news to Yirrkala that a woman and her child were dangerously ill near Port Bradshaw, and as Mataman was going that way a few days later, he promised to let the local people know about the patients by smoke-fires. If they were dead he was to light a smoke-fire, and if they had recovered he was to do nothing. When great clouds of smoke billowed over the hills the following day, it was assumed that the woman was dead, and the usual wailing and mourning songs were sung. However, a few days later the woman and her child walked into Yirrkala and explained that Mataman had been hunting kangaroos and had lit a fire to smoke them out. [765]

Friendly visitors invariably light fires to give warning of their approach; otherwise they might be mistaken for enemies, and speared. In any case they do not know where their hosts are hunting, and they light fires to invite an answer from the camp they intend visiting. Smoke is also sent up as a warning signal when anything untoward happens, and a passing lugger is enough to start a line of fires. As each party of hunters sees the boat, they light fires to warn their friends. [574]

The rapidity with which detailed messages are passed from one camp to another has led to the assumption that information has been sent by secret smoke-signals. But the message-carriers are human. I have known men and women to travel long distances by night and, by taking short cuts, to be on the beach the following morning to meet the lugger after we had sailed some sixty miles overnight. [203]

A government officer was due to arrive at the station by air, and as the Yulengor had not previously seen an aeroplane